1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 796 527 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with milk and milk products was the staple food of their nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they eat meat only at weddings, when children have been born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep when there is rain for several days, preventing them from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] 231 Every family slaughters its own animals. The slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men cease to do any slaughtering when they become about fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being reincarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death. [262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten, nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[795] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors, known as "those who fast," the members of which never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

[272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky "to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women, drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese, of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.)

[252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

262 flour. Noodles are also made with barley flour. Another way of preparing barley flour is to roast it in a pan. Not much millet is eaten. Linseed oil and colza oil are used in cooking. Each family has its own grindstone, mills its own flour and bakes its own bread.

[264] After the morning cup of tea and piece of bread a breakfast of noodles is eaten about nine o'clock. Tea and bread are taken again at noon. The main meal of
252 the day is eaten in the evening. It is prepared by slowly stirring barley flour into boiling water, sometimes with the addition of potatoes and flour made from dried peas. A little oil is always added to this mixture. Vegetables are eaten as relishes or side dishes, usually after being fermented in a mixture of brine and a little vinegar. This method of pickling provides the salt in the diet and makes the salt (which is expensive because of local taxes) go further. Each family plants its own vegetables, but fruit has to be brought from the city or bought from peddlars.

A special sweet dish is made by gathering ears of barley in July, before they are fully ripe, and steaming them. Unlike the Chinese and in keeping with their Mongol traditions, Monguor women milk the cows and sheep and make butter; but because they do not have enough livestock, butter is a luxury and is eaten only by the elders. Another luxury dish is made by kneading sugar into dough, shaping the dough into small rolls, and cooking them in boiling oil. These sweet rolls are a luxury because the sugar has to be bought.

264 Although there is nothing complicated about Monguor cooking, men seldom prepare food and all work in the kitchen is done by the women. Cleanliness and neatness are prized. Women wash their hands every time they enter the kitchen and the elders are always reminding them to be clean lest the god of the hearth punish them and their children be deprived of blessings. The children eat from wooden bowls, each child having his own. Grown up people often use bowls made of earthenware or rough porcelain, but in many families the only bowls are those locally made of poplar wood. After each meal everybody licks his own bowl clean before it is taken back to the kitchen. Some people however, in the Mongol manner, always keep their wooden bowl with them in the breast of their gown, taking it out whenever they drink and eat. The bowls are never cleaned except by licking. Chopsticks are used, but there are no spoons, forks, dishes, or table knives. At dinner time it is amusing to see each mother urging everybody—especially her own children—to take more food and to see how a child will draw its finger across its throat as if cutting it, saying "Oh mother, by Buddha I can eat no more."

273 The Monguors distill liquor from both barley and wheat. Although there are commercial distilleries, as has already been mentioned, most families distill their own liquor. This liquor, though it is distilled and not merely fermented, is always called "wine." It is drunk

/33 cont'd/
583 bow gravely, and without having opened their mouths go away to
584 share the lozenges and the cash.

The go-between rises and says aloud: "The flower has just been presented, let us proceed to the recognition of the alliance of the two families and the exchange of wine."

The two fathers-in-law rise and go to kneel in the middle of the rug, after bowing to each other. The go-between puts in the hand of each a little cup of gin, which they exchange and drink.
534 The cups are filled four times in a row, and they exchange them four
788 times; those present recite aloud one of the four following couplets:
539

Si che iang koang	May the feast be brilliant
man siu hoa	May flowers abound.
tse suen hoa	May the flowers which are the sons and grandsons
leang mien tch'a	Bloom on both sides (to the glory of the two families).
leang kia hi ngai	May the two families be happy
so ts'in kia	To be related to each other.
sin ts'in kia	May the new family by marriage
mou tan hoa	Be like a peony (emblem of good fortune).

584 /34/ Then the two fathers-in-law rise and propose that all
[262] present drink in their turn. A light meal is served consisting of boiled mutton cut in pieces, bread, and noodles in the Chinese style....

The bride's family takes care to put into the father-in-law's carpetbag two strings of cash and several loaves of bread, always an even number; the other guests receive two loaves each. The jug is given back filled with gin.

/43 cont'd/

585 Each guest has settled himself, not without first having made many an excuse and salaam. All follow the gospel which advises taking the last place in order to see oneself forced to go up toward the first ones. It is a real contest of politeness in which the master of ceremonies is forced to intervene with much circumspection. The parents of the bride do not preside at the festivity.

535 264 285 At the table one is all the more at ease if there are fewer /44/ guests. The felt rugs and the litters of straw are very practical "seats" at these wedding dinners, since they permit seating as many people as one wishes. The guests having taken their places, the meal is begun by serving tea with milk and dry bread. Because the interior of the rectangle remains free, the service is done briskly. Do not expect to see beautiful teapots, milk jugs, cups, saucers, plates of fine porcelain. The milk is already poured into the tea in the kitchen, the copper teapots are those of every day; the bread is put around in piles on the tables, the cup is made of white earthenware but without cracks.

585 273 After the tea, well-heated gin is served. It is poured into about 20 small terra cotta cups, which each one passes to the other after drinking two or three swallows. The women drink the gin like the men. They chatter, they smoke, while waiting for the main 585 262 dish, which consists of a sheep served whole and cooked to a turn. 264 The head and the saddle are detached but put back in place so as to give the illusion of one intact piece. Three sheep are served at a time. While the sheep are being admired, the servers distribute to [41] each guest a small wooden receptacle which has the shape of a saucer and in which vinegar is poured. Several wooden boxes con- [263] taining salt and pimento are in the center of the table. The T'ou-jen do not use forks or spoons; the fingers are the main means of eating, as they maneuver with a knife and the pair of chopsticks which each guest carries in a case attached to his belt. The servers take the meat with their fingers, cut it in pieces, and fill the saucers of the guests with it. The meat is eaten seasoned with salt, pimento, [263] and vinegar, and one adds to it a piece of bread. The bones are thrown on the table or on the ground. As soon as the mutton is tackled, complete silence reigns over the assemblage, all of whom

/44 cont'd/
585 maneuver busily. Having no napkin, one ends by licking one's
262 fingers at first, then rubs /15/ them on one's boots to soften the
264 leather. A bowl of bouillon finishes the meal. Gin is poured, and
[527] the table is cleared. This is the famous feast called susen by the T'ou-jen and ts'iuen iang si by the Chinese, "the dinner with the sheep served whole." It is the largest dinner given in the region.

585 It must be admitted that for such a dinner the dishes are neither
261 large in number nor dainty, and that the culinary art has not reached
[252] the heights; but this does not keep the good stomach and the T'ou-jen spirit from being at their zenith. Everything is relative in this world below.

171 This dinner, these hosts, this scene make one think of dinner
264 among nomads on the steppe. There, the dinner is served in a spacious tent; among the T'ou-jen it is given in the courtyard covered with cloth; there, all are seated on the ground on pieces of felt or on straw, here the same; there, rudimentary plates and dishes, here the same; there, the main dish of the grand feasts is sheep served whole, here also. Why don't the T'ou-jen put on a feast like the Chinese, putting some ten tables in a courtyard, each one for eight guests? It is because among the T'ou-jen the old customs of the
585 nomads live again at the important moments of life. Once and for
262 all let us call attention to the vestiges of the ancient nomadic organization of the T'ou-jen, met with on the occasion of a wedding. In the olden times they busied themselves with the raising of large
585 animals (oxen, sheep, horses). The proof of it is that all the presents
431 given in former times and recalled on the occasion of wedding feasts
231 consisted either of horses or oxen; the bride's family used to give an ox to her maternal uncle, a horse to the maternal uncle of the groom, and another horse to the groom himself; the groom's family used to give an ox to the maternal uncle of the bride; they still require a mare as earnest for the girl; the meat at the dinner is invariably
[262] mutton; again it is mutton which is offered at various times, according to matrimonial custom, and it is mutton which is given to the guests at the moment of /46/ departure.

231 Nowhere is pork mentioned as being offered as a gift, although at present the T'ou-jen are occupied principally with the raising of

M /50 cont'd/
585 Why is the maternal uncle invited to stand near the girl during the
614 whole speech, and why does the maternal clan have precedence at
604 the festivity and at the dinner? Why is the paternal clan in the very background all this day, when it is nevertheless the one which is giving its daughter in marriage and which has the duty to defend her? Also abnormal is this custom which fixes only the gifts to be offered to the girl by the maternal aunts and uncles and not those to be given by her paternal uncles and aunts. Finally, why attach more im-
M portance to this festivity than to the one at the son-in-law's home?
585 Let us remember that this ceremony is held around a shamanistic
795 fire and not before an image of Buddha, although Buddhism is with-
771 out question the primary religion of the country, and that in spite of the fact that the whole clan includes numerous lamas among its
M members, shamanism is actually the old religion of the T'ou-jen.
585 Let us note again that the master of ceremonies, when he takes the floor, recalls the faraway past in which the daughter still inherited from her parents half as much as a son. One would say it was a history lesson.

We are here in the presence of a very old ceremony, one which is completely abnormal in a patriarchal organization.

After the speech and the girl's departure, the guests are in-
M vited to sit down; gin is served, and they play mora noisily; they
●[262] sing and smoke while waiting for the Chinese noodles to be served.

M /51/ The master of ceremonies arranges the gifts in chests,
585 and all the pieces are numbered, so that the next day at the dinner
583 at the son-in-law's home, when he again takes the floor, he can take them out without difficulty. (1)

HM
585 1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 308: (Mongols) As soon as the livestock has been delivered to the future wife's father (the German translation of the same work says that he himself comes to the future husband's home to get them), he gives a feast which is soon reciprocated by the husband-to-be for the relatives and

/59 cont'd/

585 And they continue to sing, "On the spot where the bride is seated, later will sit sons and grandsons....On the ground she treads on you will find grain, money, wealth...."

585 292 The toilette is finished. A veil of coarse red cloth entirely envelops the bride's head and is tied around her neck with a red cord so that she cannot see anything any more. There are some areas where the veil is no longer tied around the neck.

585 [262] Meanwhile, the master of ceremonies has laid out before the religious image a table on which is noticed a cup of milk, a cypress branch to which is attached a strand of wool, a bushel measure containing wheat, with a prayer book in Tibetan characters on top of the grain, another lighted lamp, and a bundle of chopsticks. If there is a red lama in the house, he begins to intone the farewell prayers. The mother of the girl is seated alone on the ground in front of the table, facing the image. The door opens with a din. The bride, veiled and yelling, is carried seated on a piece of felt, either by four women or by a brother, who holds her in his arms. They run around the table, carrying the bride. They leave the room abruptly, and at the moment of leaving, one of the women carriers /60/ takes the chopsticks laid on the bushel of grain and throws them impetuously on the mother's knees. Everything is done with precipitation and abruptness. The singers continue their songs while the girl is carried outside. "When your daughter comes back, your courtyard will be full of horses and oxen, your house will be rebuilt with a second story and a veranda, the lintel of the door will have become one of gold." They continue their songs outside: "It is the auspicious time to mount on horseback; it is the auspicious time for the horsemen to mount in the saddle; it is time to take the great highway to the north (or to the south)."

The bride is put in the saddle by her brothers, and the singers do not stop singing while dancing in cadence and making their long white garments float. There are places where a man also mounts on horseback behind the bride and holds her in his arms. This rider is a member of the family but never one of her brothers.

The son-in-law and the go-between have gone ahead. The horse which the bride rides is led to the middle of the area in front

/65 cont'd/

585 Four bundles of straw burn at the four corners of the courtyard; it is hoped that the smoke will rise straight up. An oil lamp, in which [354] two wicks of equal length have been placed, is put in front of the religious image in the main building and is lighted as soon as the bride has entered the nuptial chamber. They look at the lamp attentively without touching it in order to see which of the two wicks, the one on the right side or the one on the left, will go out first. In this is seen an omen for the long life of the husband and wife; the right wick designates the girl, the left the boy.

The bride's maid of honor accepted the cup of gin presented to her when she dismounted. She dipped her finger in it and sprinkled some toward the four cardinal directions; then she touched the wine with her lips. She did the same for the bread and tea which were presented. Only after performing this rite did she follow the bride into the nuptial chamber, whose door was closed behind her. She is not given anything to eat or drink as long as the marriage rite is not finished.

As soon as the bride crossed the threshold of the door and entered the courtyard, the go-between took his place in the middle of it, [262] holding in his hands a cup of flour made from parched wheat; he ate some flour and drank some gin each time the bride passed through the courtyard, either going to the kitchen or returning to the nuptial chamber.

The other guests do not enter then but go toward the open area in front of the house. A little table has been placed /66/ in the middle of the area, and on it are seen a well-done sheep, several more legs of mutton, a pig's head, some sausages.... In front of the [262 table is spread out a piece of red felt on which is seated the bride- 604] groom's maternal uncle. Here he seems to fill the post of head of the family as did the maternal uncle of the bride in his niece's family. Gin is being warmed over a small fire.

Upon the arrival of the guests the bridegroom's father has gone to meet them with the traditional k'ata on both hands. He greets each of them by putting the k'ata on their hands. This is the ceremony of welcome.

/66 cont'd/

585 A member of the family says aloud, "The sheep will be divided into five parts. The first will be for the maternal uncle, the second for the father, the third and fourth for each of the two singers, and the fifth for the master of ceremonies. Then the guests tackle the legs of mutton, the sausages, etc. After this appetizer the guests of the bride's family are invited to enter the courtyard. The placement of the tables for the feast inside the courtyard is the same as at the bride's home on the day of the dinner.

[604 262] The bride's maternal uncle and the go-between are invited to be seated in the place of honor. Tea is poured, and loaves of bread cooked in steam are served hot. As soon as the tea is drunk, the two singers from before appear, holding in their hands a teapot whose spout is coated with butter. They pour the buttered tea for all those present, who understand by this rite that they are asked to give up their places to the guests of the bridegroom's family, who will be served tea and bread like them. The bridegroom's family has treated its own guests in the same way as the bride's family treated its guests: introduction into a side room, presentation of gifts, notation in the register....(1)

[71]

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 82, 83, 84: Every guest is obliged to give some present which cannot be less than $1 in value, or in money. They have a special book in which they inscribe all guests' names and presents. The guests whose presents are of value are inscribed in a red paper, which is fixed near the front door. Finally the bride and bridegroom arrive, they descend from the carriage outside the yard. The women who arrived with them conduct the bride and bridegroom by the hands to the screen. /Cited in English./

585 171 /74 cont'd/

of 6 cups and 6 plates. The bride is sitting now dressed as a married woman and turning her face to the wall (like the Chinese). The bridegroom arrives with a boy and without seeing the bride's face, eats his first meal in the presence of his future wife. The bridegroom repeats his visits to the bride during this day six times. /Cited in English with interpolations in French, indicated by parentheses./

between, and all the daughter-in-law's family occupy the first places.

585 262 264 This is the big dinner with the whole sheep. They always begin by offering gin. First the elders of the son-in-law's family /75/ pour it three times for the daughter-in-law's family; then the new husband's father and mother themselves present three cups to the new relatives; next comes the son-in-law, who also in his turn offers gin to his new family. The dinner proceeds as at the daughter-in-law's home.

585 431 18. Gifts of the Son-in-law's Family to the Daughter-in-law's Family

They begin by distributing to each guest a piece of raw meat of the weight of a leg of mutton. The guest puts it in his carpetbag. The guests cannot go back home with empty hands; that would be a great affront to them. One can judge the quantity of meat necessary [262] for such a wedding. That again breathes of the nomad, who lives on herds and with whom meat constitutes the basic food.

After this distribution of meat, the son-in-law enters the courtyard, leading a horse; he has attached a piece of red cloth to its mane. At the same time several cows, sheep, donkeys, and goats are led into the same courtyard where the guests are.

/81 cont'd/

Ma 585 The following night the proof of virginity is required. /Cited in English, with French interpolations indicated by parentheses./

Mo 585 /81/ maid of honor comes to arrange the hair-do of the young wife in the manner of the women of the place.

20. Visits after the Wedding

Mo 574 585 Mo [262] The third day after the wedding, the father and mother of the young wife come to make a visit to the newly related family. This visit is called "opening a new road," tying new relationships. They bring a jug of gin, loaves of bread, dry Chinese noodles, and come, they say, to invite the son-in-law to come to their home. It is customary that on this day the young wife prepares the dinner. They make her take a practical examination of her culinary knowledge. It is she also who serves the last dish of the dinner and clears the table. The guests praise her and throw several cash for her into the empty cups. In the evening the guests go home.

The next day the father-in-law, the son-in-law, and the young wife go, the three of them, to return the visit to the parents-in-law. They bring two jugs of gin and loaves of bread. The married couple make the great prostration to the members of the family who are of generations above their own. In the evening the father and the son-in-law go back home /82/ and leave the young wife with her parents for several days. After choosing an auspicious day, one of her brothers will take her back to her husband's home. (1)

HM 585 754 1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 312: A month later the young wife sets out with her husband or with one of her close relatives to pay a visit to her parents, which she repeats several months or a year later. (German translation: and stays with them for several months, indeed often for a year.)

[10 cont.]
124 had in mind. Besides, I had not treated him respectfully enough and made the mistake of not offering him enough brandy. After [181] all, at that time I was still unacquainted with the proverb of [273] the Chinese: t'u-jen chien chiu, chia-la chien liu; freely translated, "The Tujen are as fond of brandy as goats are of greens."

Only after a year did I again get in touch with him. At that time I was celebrating a festival in a neighboring community and invited the old man by messenger to a mutton feast. He received the place of honor next to me, ate his fill of the meat, and was challenged by one person after another to the drinking game, during which he consumed an ample amount. In this state of uplift an old Chinese, his former classmate, negotiated with him and obtained his consent to live with me for a few days in the station. When he appeared in January, 1947, he was received in the friendliest manner. He sat at the table with [273] me and received as much barley wine as he liked, and he could take a sizeable quantity of it. Upon his departure in the [262] afternoon I presented him with sugar, currants, baked goods, sausage, and cigars, things that are not common there, with which, as he said, he demonstrated at home the generosity of the European who had treated him as a complete and equal human being. When, in addition, I made it possible for him and his wife to receive medical treatment without cost from the mission sisters, his distrust disappeared; from then on he always showed up at my place for a number of days, and precisely on the date agreed upon, which is astonishing among these people.

To the old man's credit, let it be said at this point that afterwards he made absolutely no demands. He valued his honor and wanted to be taken seriously. For the rest, he lived in the same room with the employees of the mission station, slept on the same kang, and ate the same food, even though I offered him a room of his own and a special diet. He stated: "That does not suit an old farmer like me; I want to be with your people so that I have company." Only on certain days, for instance, at festivals or when there were visitors, did he have to have a substantial drink. This strongly stimulated him to tell stories, during which my attention was drawn to

[36 cont.]

Fig. 3

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[532] a. Torma; b. torma; c. wumba-can of the lama; d. thunderbolt (dordzi), e. bell. (Drawing by a Tujen.)

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796
574 soothsaying the setting up of a mani-tree is supposed to take place on the fifteenth day of a given month, then the lama must come a week in advance because a prayer service of several days always precedes it. Only the higher lamas stay for just a day. The preparations are always carried out by the master of the household with the assistance of the mother's brother.

On the day before, the yard and all the rooms of the house are swept clean. The men fumigate all the rooms with the red-hot stone and the incense fire, so that no demons will carry on their mischief. For the lama, the host reserves the best room in the main house, which immediately adjoins the chapel or the household altar. He spreads one or two layers of white or red felt mats on the kang and places two beautiful saddle-blankets over them, one for the lama and one for his assistant. The place on which the lama is to sit is indicated by a hada. The latter is regarded as an honored memento and is later hung by the household altar.

Between the two blankets there is a fire basin with a large teakettle. Behind it there is a kang table with the food: a [262] round wooden bowl of tsamba on which several pieces of buttered

[36 cont.]

792 bread have been placed in a pyramid and crowned with a red
796 date; a little box with tschürra (dry curds) for kneading tsamba;
574 a number of small [37] plates with black and white sugar, candy
[262] sugar, currants, and dates; a number of small plates of goods baked with sugar and oil. -- Later, when the lama performs his ceremonies, the things are cleared away so that an empty table is at his disposal.

Hutukhtus or higher lamas send ordinary, serving lamas to the people a few days in advance to prepare the room and the things needed for the ceremonies. They also help in the kitchen because they know best which dishes their hutukhtu prefers. They
[492] also see to it that the riding animals of the monastery are properly accommodated.

The fetching of the lama: On the stipulated day the young men and boys of the village set out for the lamic monastery with the most beautiful and fastest horses. Some of them ride all the way to the monastery itself; some wait halfway. The hutukhtu
[492] always rides on his own animal; it must be a white horse. The other lamas, on the other hand, may use any animals available.

When at the halfway point the lama meets the troop that has come to fetch him, the oldest man steps forward and hands the lama a hada. He accepts it and touches the kneeling man's forehead. Then the youngest with the fastest horses leap into the saddle and ride ahead at a wild gallop in order to announce the news of the lama's arrival in the village. The lama likewise tries to follow at a rapid pace. Only the old lamas take their time. This fetching is called single fetching. Sometimes the fetching is done in two or three stages; then it is called double or triple fetching. Each time the ceremonies of handing over the hada and of the blessing are repeated. In the case of the third troop, however, the fetchers are on foot, for they only go just outside the village.

Reception: As soon as the messengers come riding in, the entire village gathers in front of the house that has invited the lama. All are wearing their best clothes. On the threshing

[39 cont.]

792 lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like
796 the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to en-
465 tertain him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only
[574] in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

[535] On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbõ, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

[262] [782] 4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

[39 cont.]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter, "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is ceremonially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[40 cont.]

192 Lama-reception: lama ndziala.

792 Lama blessing: ndziärgän (Tib.) = in rows.

796 First fetching: ġdzǭ dañwu (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note on preceding page].

574 Second fetching: ġdzō niwa (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Third fetching: ġdzō ġdzämba (Tib. loanword) 10 [see Note 10 on preceding page].

192 Tsamba bowl with buttered slices: simier (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

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796 Little plate with baked goods: sētoġ.

Sugar candy: ping-t'ang (Chin.).

Apple: hai-t'ang (Chin.).

Nuts: ho-t'ao (Chin.).

Dates: sa-tsao-erh (Chin.).

Dry curds: tsüra (Tib., Tuj.).

Oil sticks: san-tzu (Chin.).

Filled loaves: taġur.

Oil pies: yu-pao-tzu (Chin.).

192 Speech hada: sidär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

796 Red cloth (which one presents to the lama): sändzõñ (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Grain with money: mbō.

Loin of mutton (also the entire sheep): ndžuäñ.

[778] Torma: šdorma (Tib. loanword) (2) [see Note 2 above].

Little copper bowl with water, grain, etc.: dõñsär (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

Butter-lamp: lamar (Tib. loanword) (10) [see Note 10 on preceding page].

[778] Holy water-can: wumbä (Tib. loanword).

Peacock's feather: k'un-ch'üo-mao (Chin.).

Thunderbolt: dordzi (Tib., Tuj.).

[41]

[534] Hourglass drum: ndarë.

Mani-string: mani.

[44 cont.]

782 Instead of butter, dry cream may also be used, regardless of whether the milk was boiled or raw. If no tsamba happens to be on hand (5), burned wheat or barley flour is permitted, but

5. [Foreign text pp. 47-48.] Even today the Tujen kitchen cannot be imagined without tsamba. They roast ch'ing-k'o (Chinese) or šbē (Tuj.), that is, spelt, kiln-dried unripe grain, and grind it in a handmill. This roasted-grain flour is eaten exactly as among the Tibetans (Fandse). After the consumption of butter tea, tsamba is [48] kneaded into a dry dough in the tea bowl with the remainder of the tea and the butter floating on it, and it is then eaten in the form of little pellets or little sausages. -- The tsamba that is used for the incense offering, however, may not be kept with the ordinary tsamba. Every family has a special little box for it. -- Concerning šdē, ch'ing-k'o, cf. Schröder, "Wedding Songs," for further details.

[262] [252] [171] [264]

[783] never bean flour, because it is unclean. In the case of the [263] sugar, there are no special prescriptions concerning the color; therefore they usually take the red because it is cheaper than the white.

The spices that are scattered into the fire as a fragrant [439] addition have been purchased in some Chinese apothecary shop. [824] They are called "earth-god spices," or simply "addition" (4).

[192] 4. [Foreign text p. 47.] The word rdzē, designated as a Tibetan loan-word, corresponds to rdsas (Unkrig); the equivalent given in the DMF, 'dre,

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.] may also be the reason why the Tujen always try to obtain such a conch and blow it in the morning at the incense offering in the yard.

For the rest, the conch in itself is made to order for the offering. It formerly served as an offering bowl; cf. Ch. Das (p. 627). Today it is regarded as the third of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad) or good-luck symbols (bkra šis rtags brgyad) as a sign of being turned in the right direction, sending out lovely sounds to the ten points of the compass; cf. Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, p. 21.

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All these objects that have been enumerated are part of a complete incense offering. Since a family only rarely has these accessories on hand, the offering is usually given in the simple form, that is, people content themselves with cypress twigs, tsamba, and water-sprinkling. Not even butter and milk have been available recently among the Tujen.

[262]

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Meaning: The incense offering is primarily to heaven; as is the first kowtow. In the second place, it is intended to honor the mountain and earth spirit, and in the third place all the other countless spirits. Oral prayers are not spoken, but one usually says or thinks: "Heaven knows it." The offering is a request for protection and pleases the spirits because of the distinguished gifts. Hence, the men give it at all religious ceremonies, for instance, at the sowing festival, at the veneration of the obo, at the sheep sacrifice, etc. It is left to burn for hours during the entire procedure. Since the Tujen have practiced the incense offering since time immemorial, it constantly recurs in the songs (8).

[177]

8. [Foreign text p. 49.] The incense

3: Schröder--145 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[620]

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IV. Customs concerning the Human Being

* See "Notes," p. 622 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

846 [851] [431] [553] [527] [852] Soon after the birth of a child one makes the happy event known to the family of the mother of the woman in childbed. The mother then comes to visit her daughter. The other relatives, however, come only after one month. They bring gifts and hold a feast. On the morning of this day the child is solemnly given a name, and in the evening it is brought before the gate of the yard for the reception of the shepherd. Then there is singing and drinking and dancing into the night.

Details

[851] [273] Birth announcement: Three days after the birth of a boy or girl, the father-in-law of the woman in childbed takes a little jug of liquor and some oil-baking and goes to the family of his daughter-in-law. It is immediately apparent why he has come to visit, and he need only tell the day and the hour of birth and whether it is a boy or girl. After they have drunk the [593] liquor, the mother goes directly to her daughter in order to take care of what needs to be done. She stays there a few days and then often repeats her visit.

846 431 Conclusion of the confinement: Exactly 29 days after the birth, in other words, on the thirtieth day, the parents and nearest relatives of the woman in childbed appear at her husband's house. They bring clothing for the child [621] and [264] the woman (a long upper garment and shoes) and, further, four large loaves of bread, oil-cakes, and other baked goods. The

[621 cont.]
loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guānbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guāmbo; ifulā sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sērāń (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lasdze sērāń, pass-peak-palace; tuguān ula, mountain of the Tuguān. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared.
[782] During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
[888] offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated,
joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

[113] 3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.
[628] From the second day on the people make New Year's visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied
kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and
filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount
is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[628 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.] one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time.

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Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

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Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara nogdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarē šēlõn = of the thirtieth evening.
udurdza xuänuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xgeni ala-.
[252] To bake oil-baking: tsiaŋguor tsina-.
To distill wine: dērasēŋgē dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šēlõŋge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šēmieŋge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: tagur šdimieŋge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar nogdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šēlõn bi ndēra, malõn siernege purgan dzēliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

[630 cont.]

Details

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The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama.

[792]

Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consultation with the mother's brother. He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. Since the whole village takes part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily.

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Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be consecrated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.

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Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang and receives him. He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

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[633 cont.]
527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

3: Schröder--175 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[636 cont.]

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Before the dying person draws his last breath, someone puts a mani-ball, a piece of gold, a piece of silver, and a piece of butter in his mouth. The mani-ball guarantees him an advanced age after the later rebirth (2). Gold and silver testify at the

2. [Foreign text pp. 650-651.] According to the informant, in the case of the mani-ball, mani-ruru, the pill that the Chinese call chen-ling wan, that is, the soul-shaking pill, is involved. According to Taoistic reports in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien, spirit-mirror, this pill is made from the sap of the legendary fan-hun-shu, that is, the soul-restoring tree. This tree grows on the coast of the western ocean. It is of black wood. If one strikes it, it sounds like the growling of a bull. Its root is brewed into a thick brew, and out of this brew the pill is made. The pill has an exceedingly strong scent (the tree can also be smelled miles away). This scent is called fan-hun hsiang, that is, soul-restoring scent. If after someone dies he is touched with this pill within three days or it is burned before him so that the smoke passes over him, or if the pill is put in his mouth, then he comes to life again. Under the Han emperors this kind of incense was supplied as tribute from the Yüeh-chih and supposedly brought dead persons to life in the palace. This pill also plays an important role in the medicine of the lamas. It is the so-called pill of immortality. The Tujen buy this pill in the monasteries. Its color is red. According to their

775 [636 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text pp.650-651]. conceptions, to be sure, it cannot ensoul the dead corpse again, but it nonetheless brings the dead to life in another rebirth. -- W. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, also mentions this pill on p. 400 under the name rilu, and in Note 1688 under the Tibetan way of writing it, ril bu. It is clear that the Tujen pronunciation reru (ruru) is merely a corruption of the Tibetan word. Ch. Das has two ways of writing it, ril po and ril bu (with the l silent); he translates both as "ball, globule," [cited in English], and for ril bu he also adds "pill" [cited in English], [651] without any further designations for them (pp. 1184-85). This ruru is to be distinguished from nuru, the Tib. nor bu or cintāmani, the Buddhistic wishing-jewel. -- According to the conception of the lamas and of the people, the ruru pill reproduces itself; cf. the chapter, "Earth-god Urn." Sometimes one meets lamas who firmly believe that Europeans, too, have this wonder pill of long life, which is why they live much longer than the Chinese and the Tibetans; they claim to know that there are people in Europe who are several hundred years old.

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rebirth that he comes from a wealthy position and will again acquire gold and silver. Butter is the most superior daily food and is supposed to be that again in the later life.

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[638 cont.]

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24. [Foreign text p. 657.] A custom that is no longer practiced among the Tujen was the eating of oil-dishes on the eve of the cremation, bän-sañ tsinani, that is, one cooks oil-dishes. The daughters and their girls (nieces) brought a measure of wheat flour and a jug of oil. Both would be roasted together in a kettle after the pai-ta and handed around. It was kneaded into dumplings like tsamba. -- Similar old Tujen customs have now been forgotten, according to the informant. The extensive customs of the Chinese are being adopted more and more, and in the foreseeable future the cremation of the dead will have yielded to the Chinese funeral celebration.

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Only after the corpse is in the box do the other relatives come, and the same rite is repeated. These are only the relatives on the father's side, however. The other acquaintances and friends also make an appearance with them. The relatives on the mother's side come only on the day before the cremation, regardless of whether the dead person is a man or a woman.

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With regard to the offerings for the dead, one must always distinguish whether a person of an older, a contemporary, or a younger generation is involved. The older generation never makes an offering to the younger, for example, the father never to the son. The man does make an offering to his wife, however, and vice versa. The man also makes an offering to his older sisters-in-law.

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Of the offering of 12 loaves of bread that each one brings, he gets two back; ten are used in the house of mourning and are eaten by the relatives or guests. The loaves that are returned are called "returned plate."

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Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses. When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery, they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it. In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

Demand for an accounting by the mother's family: Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes repsect, called

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[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

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During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowadays the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

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Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[585] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse; also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
[783] to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
[796] ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean, and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had
[777] been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
[791] family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
[782] it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul. One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[650 cont.]

192 Western paradise: hsi-lo shih-chieh (Chin.) = world of joys.

[775] Oil fir: yu-sung mu (Chin.).

[262] Thin flat-bread made with flour: kan pin-ping (Chin.) = little dry cakes.

[Pages 650-658 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 658 and the next section begins on p. 822.]

782 [822]

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114 V. Customs concerning Agriculture and Livestock

1. The Sowing and Harvest Thanksgiving Festivals * (1)

* See "Notes," p. 823 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[113] 1. [Foreign text p. 823.] For this subject, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Das Herbst-Dankopfer der Tujen im Sining-Gebiet [The Harvest Thankoffering of the Tujen in the Sining Region]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-45, 867-873. -- The report there presents only the offering from the harvest thanksgiving festival as the old man described it at that time. It is interesting to point out that he seized upon this offering as typical of the festival and mentioned the entire celebration only incidentally, always with the indication that the shamans actually had nothing to do with the offering. When I later asked him why he had not described the entire festival in

[841 cont.]

778 825 Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be eaten.

Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away, [262] [432] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals, so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are [422] then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested [787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated. Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance, [776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the monastery Rguloñ each month (on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated riding animals are magnificently saddled and led onto the colonnade of the chief temple immediately in front of the entrance. There they are offered to the god (Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them [792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning in this connection that the Tulkus (incarnation) of the lamic monasteries may ride only white horses, which otherwise are not regarded as superior.

[171] It could not be discovered which gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the heavenly mule-king.

[1] [Le - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249 - ANALYST]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cording to the rules, occupy the time in meditation or prayer. 792 157

A good lama should daily, once in the morning and once in the afternoon, walk around the monastery saying his beads and prostrating himself at the small shrines along the ritual way. In the fourth moon he makes the same round, prostrating himself the whole way along. This is said to be really exhausting work.

Every year a good lama enters a retreat at home for two weeks. He does not leave his room, talks with no one, and cancels all appointments with visitors. He prays and reads texts the whole day and offers the ritual tea four times daily before the image. A good lama never sits on a bench or chair, but always squats [516] cross-legged on the floor or the k'ang, barefooted, his clothes adjusted decently. He eats only mutton, beef, or pork, never the meat of the horse, donkey, hare, or [262] chicken, or fish or eggs. Lamas are not allowed to raise sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, or donkeys. A model lama lives in retirement, avoiding mixing with the groups of lamas who play chess and cards all night, or indulge in endless gossip, or tell smutty jokes and indecent stories, for the saying goes that "nothing is dirtier than the tongue of a lama." A good lama deals with books with reverence, putting them, wrapped in a yellow silk scarf, before the Buddha statues, carrying them on his back when traveling. A good lama does not even go to say prayers at private homes, when invited by the people; he does not leave the monastery.

These notes, given by older lamas and young Wendees, reveal what lamas think about an ideal lama and what sort of ideal is held up before young lamas. However, in order to be able to become an "ideal lama" some wealth is required, or at least an honorable competency, and it is precisely the lack of this primary condition which provides the clue to most of the miseries of individual lamas and the ruin of many monasteries.

HOW LAMAS PROVIDE FOR THEIR SUBSISTENCE

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Lamas have to earn a living, because support furnished by the monastery is insufficient. Poor lamas try to find a full-time job in the several intendancies of the monastery or with the minor Living Buddhas, or by accompanying expeditions to collect alms, or by working in the printing offices. Many find a part-time [446] job carrying water every day for several rich lamas, driving animals to the pasture grounds and then back home again, selling cow dung and fuel. Lamas like to be hired, by a lama whose pupil has abandoned him, to search for and bring back the strayed pupil. Lamas try to buy a young, nicely built horse or mule, and are happy to hire young lamas who will work every day at breaking it to the saddle, in order that they will be able to sell it in the cities or in Lhasa, where such animals command a good price. Lamas

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The master starts with the explanation of the text after the student has finished memorizing it, and so it happens that, after some time, one pupil is studying a second or a third book, while the others are still studying the first one. It is hard to teach pupils who have not received the same educational preparation and who progress at an unequal pace. The lack of elementary schools and high schools compels the master to adapt his teaching to the capacity and enthusiasm of each of the students, and inevitably the study loses its interest for pupil and master.

It is no wonder that very few learned lamas are encountered at present among the lamas of Huang-chung. The Living Buddha Goorong bzan, of the Red Sect, was the only man celebrated for his learning all over the country during the period 1910–1920, and he enjoyed this reputation among lamas of the Yellow Sect as well as the Red Sect. In Kumbum there was also a learned Living Buddha, Chao-hsi, who was said to have given instruction in the lamasery of Galdan in Tibet. In June, 1920, he was invited by the community of lamas of Kumbum to give instruction for ten days, and Kumbum seized this opportunity to invite all the lamas of Huang-chung to attend the ceremony, remembering that each attendant should offer a ceremonial scarf to the preacher, and bring his food with him. Kumbum, however, would offer two butter-teas to the participants each day. I was at Hua-yüan, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, at that time, and the intendant, in order to have his lamas attend the instruction, himself offered to provide them with the food for twelve days; but only 12 among the 58 lamas went to Kumbum.

In 1914 I was told that among the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, 1,300 were members of the College of Philosophy, 350 of the College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, 200 each in the College of Medicine and the College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. All these numbers have to be reduced according to the ratio previously noted for the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, but the proportion is the same for the members attending the colleges. Thus, among the 3,000 lamas 2,000 or two-thirds were enjoying a higher educational training in the colleges, and they remained members of the colleges for the whole of their lives. This was generally true for all of the colleges of Huang-chung.

The reason for the unusual attendance at the colleges is not that these institutions are centers of higher education, but rather that they provide meals for their members. The richest colleges, able to give the greatest number and the choicest meals, are the best attended, such as the College of Philosophy. Another attraction of this very popular college, teaching the most arduous of all the sciences, is the relaxation provided by the public disputations. The schedule of the meals provided by the various colleges supports these statements:

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1st month from 3rd to 18th, 3 cups of butter tea and tsamba, in all the colleges.
2nd month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
3rd month from 11th to 16th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
4th month from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges
5th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
6th month from 1st to 10th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
8th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
9th month from 15th to 19th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
10th month from 22nd to 29th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
11th month, all through the month, 3 cups and, tsamba, for philosophers only.
12th monthly from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.

During the first, second, eighth, and eleventh months there is an exception. During each of these months, the philosophers four times enjoy two cups of rice, meat, and raisins. Rich pilgrims are accustomed to ask for special ceremonies and prayers more often in the College of Philosophy than in the other colleges, and each time they offer rice, meat, raisins, and alms. The philosophers thus enjoy more extra dinners than the members of other colleges, and receive greater shares at the distribution of alms. It is not amazing that a lama who can hardly make ends meet, but is endowed with a philosophical brain, considers it more educational to enroll in the College of Philosophy than in the others. Herein lies the practical attraction to the study of philosophy.

PREDILECTION FOR THE COLLEGE OF PHILOSOPHY, ITS CAUSES

The public disputations are the next attraction. Among the huge numbers of members of the College of Philosophy there are always some exceptions. Small groups of students are encountered who are genuinely interested in study and under the direction of competent professors invited by them, they undergo a severe course of instruction. Two or three times every week they are engaged in public disputations, attended by all the members of the college. Students studying the same book form the center of a numerous audience, squatting on the ground of the courtyard in the open air. These disputation exercises have been described by many authors; it is sufficient to record that the same circles always enjoy the biggest attendance, not for the interest of the subject disputed, which is rather mild, but in order to enjoy the virtuosity of celebrated de-

are supposed to be the favorite abodes of evil spirits. 792
The Red lamas go to these springs in order to meet 795
these demons, to frighten them, to combat them, or to 789
obtain their assistance. So goes the saying of the [223]
Monguors and the lamas of both sects.

The rite is a back-breaking work. It lasts for 129 days, more than four months. It is practiced by a single lama, never in a group. Usually a fervent Monguor accompanies the lama for some days, to carry his luggage and prepare his tea. I got the information from two such men and from people living in Waza, near a spring where the lama performed his rite.

Sometimes the lama has to wander a long way to reach a spring, and sometimes three or four springs are situated one next to the other. The rite is carried out in winter and starts with a retreat of seven days at home, during which the lama, three times during the day and three times during the night, prays and reads texts, rattling the drum made of two human skulls, blowing the trumpet made from a human femur, and ringing the bell. He is not allowed to get a long sleep or to stretch himself out on the ground. He has to sleep in a sitting position, is not allowed to undress during the 129 days, or to enter any home or cave.

I saw a Red lama who lived near the monastery of Hua-yen start his journey. All the neighbors, men, women, and children, accompanied him to the first spring. He carried on his back, in a light wooden frame of thin laths, the felt mat on which he would sleep at night, a book of texts, a picture of Padma sambhava, the chief saint of the sect, some flour, butter, tea, a cauldron, and a small tent made of white cotton cloth. If, on the way, he should happen to lose one of these items, he is not allowed to replace it. He wore a long red coat, lined with sheepskin; on his head a red hat and over his eyes a green shade, with fringes. In his right hand he held the double-skull drum, and in the left hand the trumpet. He is not allowed to speak during his wandering from one spring to another, but mutters prayers all the way along, beating the drum at the same time.

Upon reaching the first spring he puts the frame down, blows three times on the trumpet in the direction of heaven, then starts the ritual dance three times around the spring to the time of the rattling drum, describing ritual designs on the ground. He beats the ground with his heel to the time of the drum beats, then stands on one leg, completely immobile, for a long time. Thereafter he pitches the tent, displays the picture, and sits crosslegged in front of the tent reciting texts for a long time. In the meantime, the villagers had prepared tea, and he starts talking with them. People are not allowed to indicate the spot of the next spring or to ask in what direction he will move the next day. He eats the meal offered by them. He is not allowed to drink alcoholic beverages, eat garlic, [262] ●
leeks, or radishes. He eats only mutton. The remains of the meal offered to him are not allowed to be

[p.95 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

RITE OF THE SACRED ANIMAL OF THE COMMUNITY

Almost every village has its own sacred animal, which 778
is always a male animal. The Monguors say that in the old days they used to consecrate a stallion, but at present they use mostly the bull or the he-goat, and very rarely the ram, stallion, or mule. The villages have only one sacred animal.

The preference of the Monguors for the bull is easy to understand, for their economy is actually agricultural. Their preference for the he-goat is explained by the fact that the animal is a noted symbol of reproduction and fecundity.[1]

Therefore the preference of the Monguors for the he-goat is not a mystery, for the aim of the rite consecrating an animal to the deity protector of the village and giving thanks for blessings received is to secure for the herds the blessings of fecundity.

The sacred animal of the community likes to come back to the temple of the village where a stable is built for it and where it is fed with peas, at the expense of the villagers. All day long it is free to mix with the herds of the village which it likes to follow.

The bull used is the Tibetan yak, for it produces a kind of hybrid cow, stronger than that bred in the country, and peculiarly fitted for farming. So it is easy to understand that the change in economy has been the reason why the bull has been preferred to the stallion, for farming depends on cows and oxen.

The bull is a troublesome animal, often roaming far away into the country. In summer, when the crops are growing in the fields, it does a lot of harm, but nobody dares to beat or to drive it away, for it is the sacred animal. After two or three years its savage instincts reappear and it may even pursue men. The hair of the he-goats and bulls is never clipped, so they are wild in appearance and everybody is afraid of them.

In 1914 the bull of the Naring Valley ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Long ta. The village of Naring Valley presented apologies, indemnifying the [212]● family, killing the bull, and offering the meat to them, for villagers are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. The next New Year's another bull was consecrated.

Bulls and he-goats are always consecrated by the 796
chiefs of the communities in the temple yard of the 778
village, on the third day of the New Year, to the guardian deity of the village, never to "Heaven," for no temples are dedicated to heaven. The ceremony is attended by a member from each family. The animal is cleansed, smoked, washed and combed in the courtyard, then led before the open door of the temple in front of

[1] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 1925: 135. He writes: "The known fact that of old, the Mongols attributed a special significance to the he-goat is also related by Plano-Carpini, who notes that the Mongol chiefs always fed he-goats at home: that many people taught that the he-goat was related to fecundity, is a well-known fact."

[p. 105 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen.

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas.

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples spread over the country, under the direction of a lama of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite.

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required.

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

the report of Huo Tu-t'ung, Governor of Shensi and Kansu provinces. 175x

I received the imperial order, reading "for anniversaries of the fiftieth birthday, the rule of felicitating is not used." No need for him to come to the capital to display his solicitude. Later when the rules of felicitating will be performed, the t'u-ssu may send his supplication to come to the capital, through your hands. Then you will report again, and after deliberation the permission will be accorded. Receive the order with respect.

1819. Imperial order of the seventeenth of the first moon:

Lu Chi Hsun, t'u-ssu of Chuang Lang, asks for permission to come to the capital to present his congratulations, for my anniversary of sixty years of age. It is the proper time and the t'u-ssu desires to come. I agree. According to the rules in former times, the trip of the t'u-ssu to the capital was defrayed by the empire. He will come along the way of the couriers, but notice that I do not order the t'u-ssu and others to come to the capital. I order the t'u-ssu to travel with the T'u-lu-fan, Mohammedan prince of the second degree, and with the Mohammedan prince of the second degree of Hami. They will arrive at Je Ho Erh, on the first of the eighth moon. After having called the emperor, having done the prostrations and presented the congratulations, they will return to Kansu. Receive this order with reverence.

On the nineteenth of the fifth moon Chi Hsun left. On the tenth of the eighth moon he arrived in Je Ho Erh. On the twelfth he met the emperor in the lion garden. He was granted slices of dry deer meat, spiced with pepper and ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor was so kind as to accept his two beautiful horses and the products of the country. He accepted them all. Chi Hsun was rewarded with the peacock plume and coral button, the official straw hat, the collar (worn by officials of the fifth degree), the long coat adorned with embroidered breast plates, the dress adorned with dragon designs, silk cinctures, an embroidered purse, a dagger worn at the cincture, a small coat, a long brocade dress, carpets, a horse saddle, and other things. 175x 703 471 [262]

On the fourteenth he was invited to dinner and to the comedy. He received again a collar made with silk from Ch'ang Chou in Fukien, a purse, a dagger, fringes fixed on the hats, tea, and dry fruit.

On the sixteenth he was again invited to dinner and the comedy, and received a clock and snuff box. On the seventeenth, dinner again and attendance at the comedy, and at the fireworks at night. On the nineteenth he thanked the emperor, and received two pieces of brocade, two pieces of silk from Ch'ang Chou, and six pieces of satin and a piece of dry deer meat. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor. The next day he left for Kansu, with permits from the ministry of war to travel at the expense of the empire, permits for the soldiers of his retinue, and another for the passage of his cars free of toll and taxes. He was back in Lien Ch'eng on the fourth of the eleventh moon.

1824. The Mongol Khoshot, daughter of the Prince 175x

N *563 M 342 591 592 ditionally, the older sons move out of their parents' home when they are married, taking their share of the inheritance with them. The youngest son, the "guardian of the hearth," remains with his parents and receives the residual inheritance. He and his wife are therefore placed in the "blessed corner" to carry on the prosperity of the family.

N *563 M 342 M [351] [782] [353] [352] Both rich and poor build their own houses. The young people of the village all come to help erect the mud walls, and are rewarded with a big dinner. The dwellings of the rich have brick foundations for the mud walls, and also painted woodwork inside. Every courtyard has a prayer flag (on which prayers are written in Tibetan) fastened to a pole in the middle of the courtyard, and at the base of the pole, an oven for fire offerings. In the chief's room in every home there is a picture of the guardian deity of the family hanging on the wall, and in front of the picture, a low table where butter lamps and offering bowls are placed.

b. Food, drink and tobacco

N *563 M • 262 [231] Although the Mongours are of nomad origin, they do not continue to use the staple nomad diet after they adopt an agricultural economy. Meat, milk and milk products become luxuries to the Mongours of Kansu. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, meat is seldom eaten except at festivals or celebrations. For such occasions a sheep is usually killed. Meat is M [252] always boiled, as the Mongours do not like roasted meat.

The Mongours eat beef and pork as well as mutton, and unlike the Mongols, they eat chicken but never the meat of horses, M [194] mules or donkeys. A small religious sect among them, known as "those who fast," never eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

The staple diet of ordinary people is frugal, consisting mainly of tea, bread, noodles made with barley flour, linseed and colza (rapeseed) oil. Millet is not usually eaten because very little is grown. Vegetables are raised for sale; only vegetables pickled in brine and vinegar are eaten daily. Salt, sugar, butter and wheat flour are luxuries. Only the wealthy can afford fruit. M [412] Each family has its own grindstone for milling barley flour. The family also bakes its own bread.

N *563 M 264 415 The Mongours eat with bowls and chopsticks. At home they lick their bowls clean before taking them back to the kitchen. Some always keep their bowls with them, in the breasts of their gowns. They are always licked clean, never washed.

N *563 M 273 [431] Most families distill their own liquor from barley or wheat. Like the Mongols, both sexes like to drink. Men, especially, have a weakness for it, and drunken fighting at parties is not uncommon. Wine is used for gifts, and is a necessary part of any festival occasion.

N *563 M 276 The men are habitual pipe smokers. They smoke the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl at the end. Some